

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T GENEVA 4692

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: COMMENTS ON MEETING, JUNE 10, 1977 (SALT TWO -1215)

1. AT JUNE 10 PLENARY, SEMENOV AGAIN ADDRESSED XVI.3.
2. SEMENOV, NOTING AGREEMENT THAT THE LANGUAGE IN THE AGREED STATEMENT OF XVI.3 APPLIES TO ALL PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT RELEVANT TO TESTING AND A CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS REGARDING PENETRATION AIDS, SUGGESTED THAT THESE TWO MATTERS BE REFERRED TO DRAFTING GROUP. HE CRITICIZED U.S. "BEST EFFORTS" PROPOSAL, AND SAID THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIETS TO AGREE TO THE THIRD SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 3 AS PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES. RE: TELEMETRY, SEMENOV CRITICIZED U.S. OBJECTION TO SIVET PORPOSAL AND POINTED OUT THAT SOVIETS HAVE NOT ATTEMPTED TO INTRODUCE CHANGES IN U.S. METHODS. AS TO CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES, HE SIMPLY REPEATED SOVIET ARGUMENTS AND REJECTED U.S. CONCERNS. HE CLAIMED THAT U.S. CONCERN REGARDING INTRODUCTION OF TEST PRACTICES BETWEEN NOW AND THE EFFECTIVE DATE WHICH DELIBERATELY CONCEAL ACTIVITIES ARE UNJUSTIFIED, "PARTICULARLY POLITICALLY." HE ASKED THAT U.S. GIVE CAREFUL STUDY TO SOVIET PROPOSAL TO ALLEVIATE U.S.

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CONCERN OVER THE ASSOCIATION OF ICBMS WITH THEIR LAUNCHERS. FINALLY, HE ROUTINELY DEFENDED THE USE OF THE WORD "SPECIAL" IN THE AGREED STATEMENT.

3. MY STATEMENT ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT RESPONDED TO SEMENOC'S JUNE 3 PLENARY STATEMENT ON THE SAME SUBJECT. AFTER ACKNOWLEDGING THE SOVIET ASSERTION THAT THEIR

PROPOSAL FOR THE AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVI APPLIES TO ALL PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH TESTING, I ACCEPTED SEMENOV'S PROPOSAL TO MOVE THIS MATTER AS WELL AS THAT OF PENALTY TO THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP.

I THEN REBUTTED THE SOVIET RATIONALE FOR THE EXCLUSION OF CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES; FOR INCORPORATING THE WORD "SPECIAL" IN THE AGREED STATEMENT TO THIS ARTICLE; AND FOR EXCLUDING THE CONTENT OF TELEMETRIC INFORMATION AND THE METHODS OF ITS TRANSMISSION FROM THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE. WITH RESPECT TO SOCIET PROPOSAL TO ALLEVIATE U.S. CONCERN OVER THE ASSOCIATION OF ICBMS WITH THEIR LAUNCHERS, I REITERATED THE NECESSITY FOR BROAD APPLICATION OF THE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT PROVISION.

4. ON SOVIET REQUEST, SEMENOV AND I READ MATCHING STATEMENTS NOTING AN UPDATED JDT AS OF JUNE 10 (SEPTEL).

5. IN MY POST-PLenary BILATERAL, I RAISED THE DUAL-CAPABLE LAUNCHER ISSUE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SS-16/SS-20 PROBLEM. I POINTED OUT THAT THIS PROBLEM IS NOT HYPOTHETICAL. THERE ALREADY EXISTS A SOVIET LAND-MOBILE BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHER WHICH THE U.S. BELIEVES TO BE CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH THE SS-20 IRBM AND THE SS-16 ICBM. I POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THE SOVIET SIDE MIGHT PROPOSE TO UNDERTAKE WHICH
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WOULD ASSURE THE U.S. THAT: (1) LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE DEPLOYED FOR THE PURPOSE OF LAUNCHING SS-20 CANNOT ALSO LAUNCH ICBMS AND (2) THIS LACK OF CAPABILITY IS VERIFIABLE. SEMENOV DID NOT RESPOND IN SUBSTANCE, BUT QUESTIONED THE APPROPRIATENESS OF THIS SUBJECT FOR THE DELEGATIONS. BALANCE OF DISCUSSION WAS NON-SUBSTANTIVE ALTHOUGH SEMENOV REFERRED TO MIRV VERIFICATION AS A "CENTRAL ISSUE" BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS. ALSO, HE EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THE VISITS OF SENATORS PELL AND JAVITS TO GENEVA AND OVER-ALL CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN SALT.

6. IN DISCUSSION OF "BOMBER VARIANTS," BELETSKY, IN RESPONSE TO ROWNY QUESTION CONCERNING SOVIET INTENTION NOT TO CONVERT ANY CURRENT "HEAVY BOMBER VARIANTS" INTO HEAVY BOMBERS SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE "AN OBLIGATION" TO THIS EFFECT. BELETSKY ADDED THAT AN OBLIGATION DID NOT CARRY WITH IT THE NEED FOR VERIFIABLE ASSURANCES.

7. IN CRITICIZING U.S. "BEST EFFORTS" PROPOSAL, SHCHUKIN CITED TO JOHNSON GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF SOVIET UNION, NOTING THAT SOME ACTIVITIES, BECAUSE OF THEIR LOCATION, COULD APPEAR AS NON-DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT. SHCHUKIN ALSO VOLUNTEERED THAT CRUISE MISSILES ARE OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THEIR EFFECT ON THE STRATEGIC BALANCE THROUGH THIRD COUNTRIES.

8. THE NEXT PLENARY WILL BE HELD AT 11:00 A.M. ON TUESDAY, JUNE 14 AT THE SOVIET MISSION.
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